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the government [a] in suppressing the revolt. Facts can be listed which show that the policy of the government of Japan, in this period, was aimed not only just at taking political and economic control of the natives, but also at developing their culture and that this policy was comparatively successful.

However, when, in the middle of the Heian [794–1192] period, the control of the central government began to disintegrate, Hokkaidō was left wholly in the hands of the powerful Abe family who ruled the area as though it were a foreign land and who negated the earlier policies. The Abe also discontinued the tribute of the Ezo to Kyōto. There are practically no noteworthy historical materials on native or colonial policy for this period. More detailed materials are available only after the Matsumae gained their independence which means that in this latter period the number of mainlanders settling in Hokkaidō increased and that these immigrants enjoyed the power to engage in their individual activities. Because of the gap in historical materials the time of the beginning of the independence of the Matsumae is taken as the foundation period for the study of native policy in Hokkaidō, as distinguished from the policy toward the natives of Ōu. There are no records to show exactly when mainlanders began migrating to Hokkaidō.[7] However, it seems that at the beginning the majority were castaways [8] who were unable to return, in addition to those who came to trade and to fish and who later settled the island, and those who were exiled. Their numbers were small and their power weak and, therefore, it is probable that they were assimilated, politically and socially, into the native society and had no independent activity. In later years, to escape the perils of war and famine in Honshu and particularly in the Ōu region, the number of immigrants gradually increased and we can see a conscious and separate settlement. Nevertheless, even these later immigrants were considered as of the Ezo notwithstanding the fact that the *Suwa Daimyōjin Eshi* [*SDE*] and other records distinguish them from the aborigines of Hokkaidō by calling them *Watari To* [Watari group].[b]

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[a] *Ibid.* 34, section of March 878 during the reign of Yōzei.

[7] Recent archaeological investigation has revealed many remains said to be those of the Ainu in Hokkaidō but which do not belong to the Jomon culture. Instead they closely resemble the remains of the Nara period [710–794]. See Gotō Moriichi, Hokkaidō ni okeru kofun shutsudo no ibutsu kenkyū (Study of the remains from old tombs in Hokkaidō), *Kokogaku Zasshi* 24 (2-3). It is probable that these remains were brought into Ezo in or about this period. *SHS* 2: 12–14 and 24.

[8] That there were a considerable number of these can be seen from the fact that in 1688 a crew exploring the shores of the Ishikari River counted a number of castaways who had married natives and settled among them.

A [162] [101]

[b] There may be a reason for considering these immigrants as of the Ezo. Chronologically and territorially there are three distinct historical divisions of the Ezo. There are the *Koshi* who dominated much of prehistoric Japan, then the later *Kai* who dominated the Northeast, and finally the Ezo or Ainu of Hokkaidō, Karafuto, and the Kuriles. But in the days of the *Koshi* and then the *Kai* there were further distinctions. Ezo

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The *Watari To* seem to have had a social organization similar to the aboriginals of Hokkaidō, that is, not far advanced from a primitive communal society. This may be because the *Watari To* were basically Japanized Ezo from Ōu. Those of the Yamato race who were among them seemed to have adapted themselves to the lives of the Ezo or were in the process of so doing.

In later years the campaigns between the imperial families and the military families extended to the Ōu region and, as a result of continuous warfare among the great clans, those who looked forward to new opportunities in a new world moved into Hokkaidō. These later immigrants are clearly distinguished from the Ezo. They not only lived as Japanese, but had an advanced state of social organization—the feudal.

Those with power built forts called *Yakata*, ruled over the people within their territory and eventually came under the control of the Andō clan of Tsugaru. The Andō were related to and successors of the Abe as feudal lords of the north.

In 1456 the area between Shiokubisaki in the east and Atsusabu Kawa in the west became the central area of settlement for the mainlanders. Although they lived among the Ezo from Mukawa in the east to Yoichi in the west, they tended to settle at points along the coast.[9] The cause of this movement may be explained on the same grounds as those which guide our national development southward. However at this stage there is still no significant native policy. It only becomes of significance when the Matsumae unite the mainlanders and present a solid front of opposition to the natives. The expansion of the immigrant colonists was bound to come into conflict with the interests of the natives. The immigrants were mostly fishermen. In those days, when commerce was undeveloped, the rulers depended for their livelihood on taxes in kind collected from these fishermen, else at times the clans themselves were obliged to engage in fishing, as pointed out by the author of the *Ezo Koku Shiki* [Private Records, of the Ezo country].[10] Therefore, as the number of im-

A [162] [101]

who were either captured or who voluntarily accepted Japanese rule were called *ifu* while Japanese who married Ezo or who left the Japanese limits to accept Ezo life and rule, and there was a surprising number of these, were called *fushū*. Therefore, it is logical for old Japanese records to consider a group as of the Ezo and yet separate from them.

[9] *Shiragi no Kiroku* (copy in the Hakodate Library), 15.

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[10] *Ezo Koku Shiki* says, "In those days when the Matsumae came to the country there were no officials on duty there and no vessels from other countries but only a few ships from Zennan Bu and Tsugaru and, because there were no houses as today, only a few fishermen. When a vessel did enter port the crew would stay at the homes of retainers and managers, there being no inn and they would depart as soon as they had completed their business, so there was but little exchange. From early times to today cultivated land has been scarce, the topography being mountainous. Ground rent was left unpaid and the warriors engaged in fishing. . . ." The record goes on to illustrate how, regardless of rank or caste, all engaged, during the herring season, in fishing. "In the homes of retainers and stewards even the women and servants, leaving

villages left in Kikonai, Satsukari, Mobetsu, and Hekirichi while on the west coast the Ezo of Kaminokuni had already been extinguished and only in Tazawa and Otobe were any natives to be found. And even this small number was steadily diminishing as can be found in *Ezo Dan Hikki*: "Probably because the Ezo preferred not to live among the Japanese they gradually moved inland and very few are seen these days." According to a report made in 1788 the Ezo living in Matsumae consisted of but twelve persons living in three houses and three villages.[36] The reasons for this decline of the Ainu lie not alone in the activities of the Japanese but also have their cause in the spread of contagious diseases such as smallpox and measles which got a foothold by the first part of the seventeenth century. The *Ezo Dan Hikki* makes note of this: "Ezo in Tazawa and Otobe are almost gone, many having died of smallpox and measles." The decrease in population frustrated any Ainu attempt to organize self-government and their years of contact with the Matsumae brought them into a Japanese way of life. Since these Ainu in the territory of the daimyō were not needful of special treatment, they came to be treated as Japanese. The *Ezo Dan Hikki* shows this contrast when, in regard to the Ainu living in Ainu areas, it says: "In general there is no annual land tax gathered from the Ezo lands. Only when these Ezo come to Matsumae do they bring with them local products," whereas, "The Ezo living near Matsumae receive a portion of land from the daimyō. But while they work some of the land they do not pay land taxes. Instead they offer to work—fishing for herring or gathering tangle or collecting firewood." This latter work was not a voluntary substitute for land tax but was imposed on all the residents in Matsumae as is shown by the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, "Payment to the daimyō and to the samurai of the Matsumae were twenty-five to thirty horse loads of tangle and a five × six foot stack of firewood annually for farmers while the fisherman of herring had to remit seven bundles each." These payments applied to those who had submitted to Matsumae rule. The Ezo living in Kunashiri, Etorofu, Akkeshi, Kiritappu, Karafuto, and on the Okhotsk coast were out of the reach of Matsumae control and had just begun to trade and although involved in disputes with each other were independent. The Matsumae made no effort to enter into political relationship with these Ezo and were satisfied to have the trading contracts only. But after the rebellion of 1789 these areas slowly came under Japanese control and by policy of the Bakufu came directly under Japanese jurisdiction in 1799.

When all the above facts are considered it seems that the Matsumae after 1669 had three methods of native control.

[36] Temmei Hachinen junkenshi ōtō hikae (Memorandum on answers to investigating officials in 1788) in *Matsumae Tōzai Kanki* (Census of the Matsumae domain).

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Although at one time the Ainu were very numerous, the census taken in 1923 gave their number as only 15,461. Of these 7,430 were males and 8,031 females; living in 3,504 houses. At the present time they are said to be 800 less than then. They are decreasing somewhat rapidly, some dying off and others marrying with the Japanese. Government is doing what it can for them and seeing that they have their plots of land to cultivate. But nothing can now avert their doom. They must soon be quite of the past. And they will depart without having left any history or having made any perceptible mark in the world. One feels very sorry for them, but the laws of nature are inexorable and must take their course.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

161 628 In considering the causes of this decrease, there are found to be several reasons which may be cited. From the oldest times there have been many bloody battles fought with the Japanese. The warfare was continuous throughout the ages, as has been shown in a previous chapter. Then there were misunderstandings causing internecine strife with pitched battles. And so the people have naturally been bleeding to death. This clan antagonism has not yet quite died out, but has now become a very weak factor among them. Forty-five years ago, it was so strong that I was once refused hospitality in one district because I had come from another. I was speaking Ainu only and my dialect betrayed me. However, on my second visit some years later, all was well and I met with no trouble.

177 161 Then, there are now two and a half millions of Japanese here against about 15,000 Ainu. The former are pushing the people greatly, for the Ainu cannot compete with them. Next, they have had to come so [162] suddenly from a meat and fish diet to a vegetarian one. This has told on their constitutions. There is 161 too much blood-relationship among them, through in- [582] termarriage between people of their own village or district only. This has had a dire effect on them mentally. They have known nothing of medicine in general, and hygienic rules are nil. There has been a good [165 deal of child mortality among them, and many of the 842] women are sterile. Many people die of consumption. Their smoky dwellings are not fitted for the preservation of health. It is sad to see them becoming extinct, but it is inevitable. In them I think the Japanese are losing a great asset to the Empire. The numbers are now being kept up, as they have been for some time past, by adopting Japanese children and registering them as Ainu. And marriage with the Japanese themselves is taking not a few. There is an ever-increasing [144 162] number now of half-breeds, and among those called

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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162] ●
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Ainu not much more than half are pure blood. Nay, I doubt very much if even half of them are pure Ainu.

The following folk-lore, showing how Aeoina, after doing what he was set to do on earth, forgot himself so far as to return to heaven unwashed and clothed in his old earthly garments, and was therefore sent back again to wash and change, is interesting.

"The divine Aeoina is called *Ainu rak-guru* by some, and this means 'Person Smelling of Men.' This is the way he came by such a name. After he had descended from heaven and made the first man, he stayed on earth with him for a very long time, teaching him and his children how to hunt and live. While in the world he lived just as the people did, and dressed in the same kind of clothing as they. When he had finished all that had been given him to do, he returned to heaven. Before setting forth, however, he quite forgot to divest himself of his earthly garments. On reaching Paradise, all the deities came sniffing with their noses, and, looking into one another's faces, exclaimed, 'Dear! dear! What a strong smell of men there is! Whence can it come?' On making a closer inspection they found it to come from Aeoina, who still had his earthly garb on. He was therefore requested to go back to earth immediately and divest himself of his human clothes. Having done so, he returned once again to heaven, and lo, the smell of men had departed from him!"

Here is another peculiar story about Aeoina making man. It runs thus:

"When Aeoina made man he formed his body of earth, his hair of chickweed, and his backbone of a stick of willow. When, therefore, a person grows old his back bends in the middle." The same story variously told is as follows:

"After the world had been created and set in order, God made many herbs and trees to grow out of the

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

some saké in the evening. On returning to my hotel I ordered the saké to be sent to them, but the Japanese neglected to attend to it. Consequently when I went to photograph them the next day, just as I was about to take a picture of two old persons, the chief called out from a distance and my subjects turned away. I induced them to pose once more, when the burly chief came on a run, forcibly threw his offending subjects on either side and turned to me with fire in his eye and some very strong language, no doubt, of which I could not understand one word. I thought he would smash my camera, and he might easily have thrown me into the sea. However, by degrees he cooled down and finally he stood for his own picture in a pose of his own, neither graceful nor elegant. But he came on me like a type of a fierce high-tempered savage, such as I do not care to encounter again.

There is an account of the Ainos of six or seven centuries ago, which tallies well with the supposition that they were once a warlike people. It is from a report of Mr. Henry S. Munroe, and relates to the discovery of gold in Yezo. According to the Japanese tradition, a party of Japanese in the second year of Genkiu went to Yezo and remained there 13 years washing for gold. The account goes on to say: "At this time the Ainos were a very savage and warlike race and gave the gold-washers no little trouble. Finally after a desperate battle, the Ainos became masters of the field, killing the whole party of Japanese with the exception of the priest. * * * The Ainos emboldened by the victory, crossed the straits in large force and made vigorous war on the Japanese."

AINO POPULATION.

In an article published in the Japan "Mail" of January 20, 1889, Mr. John Batchelor has given the following statistics of the Aino population of Yezo for four successive years. His figures are as follows:

Aino population in Yezo.

Year.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1882	8,849	8,652	17,188
1883	8,854	8,596	17,150
1884	9,051	8,776	17,827
1885	7,900	8,063	15,963

The cause of the decrease in 1885 is not explained. It amounts to 1,864 and includes 1,151 males and 713 females. I am disposed to regard it as an error in the returns, not at all impossible in Japanese methods. In the course of my own travels I endeavored to obtain definite information concerning the population, not with the view of learning the total number of Ainos in Yezo, which could only be done by visiting all parts of the island, but for the purpose of enabling future travellers to know where the largest settlements are to be found.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

That this is an important consideration was well illustrated in my own experience. No doubt there are officials at Sapporo, the seat of government, and perhaps also in Hakodate, who can give such information, but I was quite unable to get any knowledge whatever as to the existence or non-existence of any considerable number of Ainos on the northeast coast of Yezo. I went to Hakodate intending to sail directly to Nemuro, and to go from there as far as possible to the north, but from the information I received at Hakodate, I was led to change my plan, and concluded to come back along the southeast coast over the well-known routes of travel. But at Nemuro I was so fortunate as to meet a gentleman who had been farther north, and from his observations I was led to resume my original plan, much to my satisfaction; for the Ainos of the south are well known to foreign travelers, while those in the north have scarcely been seen except by Japanese.

The population of the places mentioned below was very courteously given me by the local Japanese officials. There may be serious errors in spelling the names of villages, but I have endeavored to convey the sounds as well as I could catch them from the Hokaido Japanese, which it was always difficult for me to understand.

Town or village.	Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total.
NEMURO.				
Bitakai	14			56
Shibetsu		20	20	40
KITAMI.				
Shari:				
Shimatokai	11	10	12	22
Shari	45	62	64	126
Yambetsu	7	11	9	20
Abashiri:				
Abashiri		14	8	22
Kitami Machi		21	18	39
Noyori		7	4	11
Notori		3	6	9
Nikuribaki		6	6	12
Mukudo		5	7	12
Naiyori		7	6	13
Tombetsu		6	6	12
Miboro		15	11	26
Kakumi		5	4	9
Dapi		9	8	17
Ponkigin		5	4	9
Kimitambi		9	9	18
Furumi		9	5	14
Tokoro	35	50	58	108
TOKACHI.				
Akkeshi:				
Waktakocho		2	5	7
Matsubocho		61	55	116
Hontomura		2		2
Shinriuwa		13	14	30

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Town or village.	Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total.
TOKACHI—continued.				
Tokachi:				
Tokachi	1	1	3	4
Obetsukowashi	9	16	13	31
Aisshi	3	2	4	6
Osanau	4	6	6	12
Tafekursi	30	54	41	95
Tobutsu	6	12	16	28
Kinashiba	10	22	17	39
Nakagawa:				
Nobutori	11	25	29	54
Horokenashiba	4	7	7	14
Ponbetsu	20	45	47	92
Chiota	14	14	35	49
Yamuwatkahira	20	46	41	87
Ikanbetsu	13	28	42	70
Chirotti	22	24	27	51
Betti	6	9	13	22
Kasai:				
Pashikobetsu	21	57	50	107
Memurobetsu	50	151	144	295
Sachinai	9	22	23	45
Urekorepi	3	7	8	15
Katou:				
Otofuke	31	79	81	160
Tobuti:				
Horofune	3	5	7	12
Taiki	5	19	15	34
Biroo:				
Moyori	40	84	77	161
HIDAKA.				
Urakawa	154			
Mitsuishi	67	540	580	1,120
Shidzunai	374	194	191	385
Nikap	136	774	891	1,665
Saru:		321	307	628
Sarufuto	9	34	27	61
Hiraka	27	75	77	152
Shinukotsu	28	55	68	123
——†	22	38	48	86
Pirutori	61	103	104	207
——†	31	77	88	165
†Niot	37	80	92	172
†Ogashirunnaye	13	28	27	55
†Horesari	20	69	71	140
†Kankibetsu	16	28	20	48
Monbetsu	20	73	53	126
——†	5	22	19	41
Gabari	25	56	66	122
Harabetsu	18	43	54	97
——†	4	7	6	13
Shamani	62	170	158	328
Horoidzuni	23	27	28	55
IBURI.				
Yufutsu	240	480	521	1,000
Shiraoi	132	296	271	567
Chitose	74	140	127	267

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

for "doing in Ainuland as the Ainu does," especially as regards the food, I was not much the worse for it in the end. I never use force when I can win with kindness, and in my small experience in Hokkaido and other countries I have always found that real savages in their simplicity are most "gentleman-like" people. With few exceptions they are good-natured, dignified, and sensible, and the chances are that if you are fair to them they will be fair to you. Civilised savages and barbarians I always found untrustworthy and dangerous.

The Island of Yezo, with the smaller islands near its coast, and the Kurile group, taken together, are called "the Hokkaido." The Hokkaido extends roughly from 41° to 51° latitude north, and between 139° and 157° longitude east of Greenwich.

My view of the origin of the word Ainu is this: *Ainu* is but a corruption or abbreviation of *Ai-num*, "they with hair," or "hairy men," or else of *Hain-num*, "come with hair," or "descended hairy." Considering that the Ainu pride themselves above all things on their hairiness, it does not seem improbable to me that this may be the correct origin of the word, and that they called themselves after the distinguishing characteristic of their race.

The word Ainu is a generic term, and is used both in the singular and plural; but when specifying, the words *Kuru* (people, men), *utaragesh* (woman), etc., are generally added to it: viz., *Ainu kuru*, Ainu people, Ainu men; *Ainu utaragesh*, an Ainu woman; *Ainu utaragesh utara*, several Ainu women.

The Ainu population of Yezo is roughly reckoned by the Japanese at about 15,000 or 17,000 souls, but at least half this number are half-castes, and in my opinion (and I have visited nearly every Ainu village in Yezo) the number of thoroughbred Ainu does not exceed 8000 souls.

The illustrations in this book are my own, and are the reproductions from sketches which I took on the spot. They may not show much artistic merit, but they seem to me to be characteristic of the country and the people, and I hope that my readers will be impressed with them in the same way.

A. HENRY SAVAGE LANDOR.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

them to capsize and "turn turtle." The anchors used by the Ainu are very ingenious; they are cut out of a piece of wood, with either one or two barbs, and two stones are fastened on the sides of the stem so as to carry the anchor to the bottom. No compass is either known or used by the Ainu, and the natives shape their course by sight of land. They very seldom go long distances out at sea, as they are fully aware of the dangers of the ocean and of the imperfection of their own methods of navigation, though they are wholly incapable of making any improvements by their own judgment. The canoes are always beached when not used, and each family possesses its own. There are none which are the property of companies or are common to certain villages.

AINU WOODEN ANCHORS.

TOP VIEW OF AN AINU CANOE.

The track between Ubahu and Urakawa is rough, and the rivers are somewhat troublesome. Not far from the Mitsu-ashi river one has to pass a tunnel which has been made through a rock projecting into the sea. In rough weather it is difficult and dangerous to get through, as the waves wash right through the tunnel. In fair weather it affords a safe passage to the traveller.

The Matourabets (the winter fishing river) was successfully waded, and the Ikantai[1] village passed. Then at Urakawa or Urapets (the fish river) I made a halt for the night. There are many half-breeds at Urakawa, and a few real Ainu, but the small population is composed mostly of Japanese fishermen.

Seven and a half miles further, at Shama-ne—a corruption of *Shuna*, stones, and *ne*, together—there are some magnificent

[1] *Ikan*, a canal made by salmon on river-beds to lay their spawn; *tai* thick.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

small islands and picturesque rocks, standing like huge jewels in the water, while on the Horoizumi side, as far as the eye can see, there are only cliffs of peculiar shapes, and marvellously rich in colour.

I got two fresh animals, and pursued my journey towards Horoizumi. Rocks, rocks, nothing but rocks! My ponies stumbled and slipped all the time, and for eighteen miles the riding was hard and intricate. I had to lead my ponies most of the way, and help them, pull them, or push them, from one rock on to another, and down the next, and so on.

The scenery all along was magnificent and grand. A short distance from Shamane a large natural archway emerges from the sea, which is called by the Ainu, Shui-shma, "a hole in stone."

Holes have been pierced through the rocks in several places, to give comparative safe passage, and to prevent wayfarers from being carried away by the waves. Over the entrance of one of these tunnels a pretty waterfall, descending from a great height, gives a poetic effect to the scene, while it obliges the unfortunate traveller to take an extremely cold shower-bath, should he wish to push forward on his journey.

As if all these discomforts combined were not enough, it is to be added that the rivers in this part of the coast, though not wide, are extremely swift and dangerous to cross. My second pony was carried away by the strong current when I crossed the Poro-nam-bets,[1] and I had great difficulty in rescuing him.

At Shamane there are a few Ainu, but from there to Horoizumi I saw none.

Sardines are very plentiful all along this coast, and long seaweeds also abound. The latter is used for export, chiefly to China. Horoizumi, a nice little village of one hundred and fifty houses, is the most picturesque in Yezo. It is built on the slopes of a high cliff, and it reminds one much of the pretty villages in the Gulf of Spezia. I arrived at sunset, and the warm red and yellow tints which the dying orb of day was shedding on the weather-beaten brownish houses, gave a heavenly appearance to this very earthly place. As I got nearer, a good deal of the heavenly had to be discarded, for the odours of fish-manure and of seaweed are two smells

[1] *Poro*, large; *nam*, cold; *bets*, river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The cliffs near Shoya are remarkable for their beauty. They are mostly older eruptive rocks which nature has carved into hundreds of rugged and fantastic forms. About a mile from the village is a huge natural archway, and from this point begin the precipitous cliffs, pillars, and rocks which make the journey so difficult.

At Shoya there are no pure Ainu, but some of the fishermen exhibit traces of Ainu blood. My recollection of Shoya is decidedly not of a pleasant character. I put up in the house of a fisherman, which also answers the purpose of a tea-house for the few stranded native travellers.

"We are so poor," said the landlord when I asked for something to eat, "and we have finished our provisions of rice. The other people in the village are poorer than we are, and they also have none; and as for fish, the sea has been so rough for several days that we have not been able to catch any. We ate the last scrap of fish we had just before you arrived! If you gave me a fortune, I could not give you anything to eat."

When the landlord confessed this to me in the evening, I had already been fourteen hours without food. The prospect of not getting any more for at least the next eighteen or twenty hours was not an agreeable look-out. I was very hungry, but, failing a meal, the next best thing was to try and go to sleep. Even that did not prove successful, for hunger keeps you awake, and in its first stages sharpens all your senses considerably.

The night I spent at Shoya is worthy of a description. From top to bottom the corners of my room were filled with webs, which the spiders had spun undisturbed in all directions across the room. Hundreds of flies and horseflies rose buzzing when I entered the room, and I had to engage in a very unequal war against them before I could settle down on the hard planks. In one corner of the ceiling a big, long-legged spider, too high for me to reach, was enjoying a good meal out of a huge horsefly which he had captured in his net. I almost envied the long-legged epicure. Nature will be ironical sometimes. When night came, and I was still sleepless, the planks on which I was lying seemed harder than any planks I had ever slept on before. I turned round one way,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

thus be forced to try the mountain track, which I was told was not so very rough from this point. A half-caste offered to show me the way. It was a very stiff climb among thick shrub, but it was comparatively smooth work after the experience of my journey from Shoya. I came across many tracks and footprints of bears on the mountain. In some places the marks were quite fresh and of different sizes, varying in length from one foot to four inches. The half-caste told me that black bears seldom attack men unless they are hungry. They often attack horses.

"But if they hear that a man is near they will not dare to attack even the horses," he said, and then began to sing at the top of his voice. His singing, half Japanese, half Ainu, was so excruciating that it was no wonder to me that it kept the bears away.

We crossed two rapid streams before reaching the summit of the mountain range. The view from the summit was lovely. In the distance I could distinguish two headlands, while an immense stretch of stormy sea and a high mountain were in the foreground. I began to descend, and again I got into the region of thick forest and scrub. I perceived a few houses near the coast, and we made for them. It was the village of Moyoro,[1] or Biru, as it is called by others.

Between Saruru and Biru, where the mountain track sometimes descends to the shore, I found many Ainu and half-breeds, especially in the two villages of Onnito[2] and Bitatannuki.[3] They are said to be very bad, and what I saw of them, even at Biru, corroborated this assertion.

Biru is situated on a small bay, in the centre of which some gigantic pillars stand out at a great height. The rough sea dashes against them, and thousands of crows and sea-birds have chosen these rocks for their abode. Biru is not a large village. There are only forty fishermen's huts, most of which are on the high cliff surrounding the small bay; the others are down on the beach. Kelp, seaweed, and sardines

[1] Moyoro. *Moy*, a bay; *oro*, to be in.
[2] Onnito. *Onni* or *Onne*, great, large; *to*, lake, swamp.
[3] Bitatannuki. *Bita*, to undo; *tannu*, long; *ki*, rushes, reeds.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Ainu have a nearly circular tibia. I do not know of any other existing race in the world in which such an extraordinary phenomenon occurs, and the tibia struck me also as being extremely long, while the femur appeared proportionately short. However, with the exception that the tibia is more circular than with the Ainu of Yezo, I could not see any material difference between them and the other Ainu. As we have already seen, each tribe in Yezo has certain characteristics which other tribes have not; each tribe has conformed its habits to the climate of the district in which it lives, as well as to other circumstances; and each of these tribes has adopted a slightly different architecture for its dwellings; but it is plain that all belong to the same original race. The same might be said of the Shikotan Ainu. At this point it is well to explain that the Kurile Islands not many years ago belonged to Russia; but they were exchanged for the southern half of Sakhalin, then belonging to Japan, and now form part of the Japanese Empire. The two larger islands—Kunashiri and Etorofu—are inhabited mainly by Ainu and a few Japanese, who migrate there from Yezo during the fishing season; while the Island of Shikotan is inhabited by sixty Ainu, brought there from the northern islands of Shirajima or Shimushir, and Urup, leaving thus all the islands north-east of Etorofu uninhabited.

Of Kunashiri and Etorofu I shall say no more in connection with the pit-dwellers, but a few more words on the Shikotan inhabitants may prove interesting, especially as people have been led to believe that they are the descendants of the Koropok-kuru, and not really Ainu.

I shall begin by saying that the Shikotan people call themselves Kurilsky *Ainu*, and that they speak both Ainu and Russian. Their features are not very massive, and their cheek and temple bones slightly project. They have strong mouths, and eyes identical in shape and colour with those of the Yezo Ainu. They are as hairy; they live by fishing and hunting; they clothe themselves in skins; and they are fond of beads and shining ornaments. Their huts have angular roofs, and are built in the same style as those of the Yezo Ainu, but on a smaller scale. The interiors are also alike, and equally dirty, if not more so. The Ainu huts at Shikotan are sixteen

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

called Se-Cherippe, which contains many shoals and low islands, near which are beds of oysters of enormous size, the shells of some measuring as much as eighteen inches in length. The Koro-pok-kuru, by whom this district was formerly thickly populated, seem to have relished this diet, as we find thick beds of discarded shells on the top of some of the lower hills, and in many places, especially in the vicinity of pits. These shell heaps are similar to those found on the main island of Nippon, and attributed to the Ainu. (*See* Chapter IX.)

The country round the bay and the lagoon forms a high land or plateau between two hundred and three hundred feet above the level of the sea, and the higher ground is thickly wooded, thus supplying Akkeshi with abundance of timber, mostly of evergreen trees, as Todo and Yezo-matzu, two spruces common in other parts of Yezo as well. With its good harbour, its large export of oysters, salmon, herrings, fish-manure, and seaweed, besides its seal-fishery and the quantity of good timber easily cut and transported down the lagoon and across the bay for shipment, it is not surprising that Akkeshi has become, after Hakodate, the most important centre on the southern coast. It is nearly half as large again as Kushiro, and has as many as nine hundred Japanese houses, besides sixty or seventy Ainu huts.

The Ainu were formerly extremely numerous in this district; but few of them are left now, and those few are indeed poor specimens of their race. They have nearly all become bald, and they seem to suffer very severely from rheumatism. Thick fogs are very prevalent along the coast, and it is but seldom that one can obtain a view of the whole bay. These fogs naturally render navigation unsafe, and are one of the great drawbacks to the prosperity of the place. However, our good Londoners could tell us that greater evils than fogs can exist. I have no doubt that at some future date we shall hear of Akkeshi as being the most important port in Yezo, when a railway to join it to Shibetcha shall have been constructed. The sulphur of Mount Yuzan will probably then be taken direct to this place instead of Kushiro, owing to the safety of its harbour, an advantage which Kushiro does not possess. The Akkeshi Bay is also interesting from a picturesque point of view, when fogs give one a chance of seeing the surrounding scenery.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

leading my tired beast, and dragging him along as well as I could. Every few yards the wretched creature collapsed, and it took a lot of petting, caressing, encouraging and beating to make him get up again. I had ridden and walked about fourteen hours in the rain, and was nearly frozen to death.

Since I had got out of the forest a bitterly cold north wind chilled me through and through, and added the last touch to my weariness and discomfort. Again the pony fell, and all my efforts to make him get up were useless. The storm, if anything, seemed to increase in violence, while my own strength was decreasing every minute. I lay down by the side of the pony, trying to warm myself by his heat, and, shivering and rattling my teeth together, I tried to go to sleep.

A couple of hours were spent in this way, and when the moon rose I could see a little clearer. I climbed with hands and feet on to the sand-hills, and I fancied I saw some dark spots in the distance. Could they be Shari? First one end of my whip, then the other, was reduced into pulp on my pony's back, and with a great effort he again stood on all four legs. I had to support the wretch all the way, as you would a drunken man, and we went at the rate of less than a mile an hour. The spots grew bigger and bigger, and took the shape of huts.

"Hem, hem, hem, hem!" I called out at the first hut, while three or four dogs barked furiously and went for my legs. "Will you let a stranger sleep here to-night?"

"This is no house for strangers; go elsewhere!" answered a drowsy hoarse voice from inside.

"May you be kept —— hot!" said I, in pure Ainu fashion, though in my heart I attached quite a different meaning to the sentence from that which the hairy people give it; and wearily I pulled myself together and passed on.

A shadow crept out of one of the huts, and thanks to that shadow I found a shelter for the night. There are fifty Ainu huts at Shari, and ten Japanese, with an Ainu population of about one hundred souls. The Ainu here have adopted Japanese clothes, and many of them eat Japanese food when they can get it. The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

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KOMATAGE VOLCANO, VOLCANO BAY.

CHAPTER XIX.

Completing the Circuit of Yezo—The End of my Journey.

162 OSHAMAMBE is a group of seventy houses, just midway between Mororran and Mori. The Ainu of this bay are poor specimens of their race, as most of them have intermarried with Japanese. They are, however, those most talked about by Europeans, for they are of easy access to globe-trotters.

They are mostly half-castes, and even second and third crosses; wherefore it is no wonder that the incautious travellers who have written on the Ainu, studying only these easily-visited specimens, have discovered in them a remarkable likeness to the Japanese!

The fact that I was rapidly nearing the end of my trip half filled me with pleasure, yet pleasure mingled with regret. It was nearly six weeks now since I met with the accident to my foot, and I was decidedly better. The cold weather had greatly contributed to this improvement of my condition; and had it not been for my bone which kept sticking out of my skin, I should have considered myself in fine case. I could hop along with my self-made crutch and my stick, and when riding

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

595 marries again. Though savage and barbarian, the Ainu is shrewd enough not to take his second wife to live with his first, for he knows what the result would be, human nature [150] being the same in Yezo as it is in London, and jealousy as strong among the tattooed women of the hairy people as among the fair-skinned daughters of the West. All women are bad enough when out of temper, but the Ainu women are pre-eminent in this respect. Our shock-haired bigamist calls his first wife *poro-machi*—"great wife," and he calls the other *pon-machi*—"small wife;" and as long as the two females do not live under the same roof they are all happy with the arrangement. If, indeed, he chooses to have more than these two wives he thinks small blame to himself. There is no bar of any kind in his code to his having a third "half;" but this seldom happens now, for the women are not in such over abundance in the Ainu country as to allow each man to indulge in a "triple alliance." The Ainu are therefore polygamists when they can find the third woman, and almost always bigamists when this is possible. The wife does not 551 take her husband's name, for no Ainu has a family surname; 585 and each man or woman is called after some peculiarity which he or she possesses, or after some event or accident which has befallen them. For instance, *Una-charo*, a man's name, means "Sprinkled-ashes," and *Yei-Ainu*, "Dangerous Ainu," &c.; and *Korunke*, a woman's name, means "Ice-eater;" *Reoback*, "Who burst three times," and so on, each person having a different name, which is nothing more than a nick-name. When the girl gets married she does not drop this nick-name, neither, as has been said, does she take her husband's name, though sometimes she is called So-and-So's wife. Supposing that Miss Burst-three-times were to marry Mr. Sprinkled-ashes, she would be Mr. Sprinkled-ashes' wife, and would still be called by her maiden name, Burst-three-times.

● 162 It is impossible to quote exact statistics of the Ainu population, and whether the women outnumber the men, but from my own observation I should think that females are in excess of the males in some districts, and about even in others.

593 The man, naturally, is the lord and master of the household, 562 and the wife is like a kind of inferior being or a slave, whose duty it is to obey her male companion. She has to yield in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

out, destroyed by consumption, lunacy, and poverty of blood. All the members of one village are necessarily related to one another; and, as I have demonstrated in a previous chapter, this is the main cause why certain diseases are common to one community and utterly unknown to others, and certain hereditary talents or tendencies are frequent in one village and imperceptible in the next.

The Ainu seem to have no Platonic love; their love is purely sexual. It is not to be wondered at, in a country where marital relations are so peculiar, that very little love is felt for children beyond a certain age. The mother suckles her own child usually for seven or eight months. She can bear children till she is about thirty-five, though some who seem to be much older are still fruitful. It was difficult to ascertain this fact for no Ainu knows his own age. As far as I could learn fertility is neither hindered nor checked in any way—either by adopting a peculiar diet or by other practices. On the other hand, many a woman is sterile, and many are also affected with the most horrible of all diseases. I am inclined to think, however, that this special malady was imported to Yezo with Japanese civilisation, for it is in the more civilised parts of the Ainu country that it is most frequent.

There is probably no country in the world where there is so much loss of infant life due to want, accidents, and diseases, as with the Ainu. Abortion is common, owing to the severe exertion of the mother during pregnancy; and many a child dies not many days after birth for the same reason, and consequent disappearance of milk in the mother's breasts. The greater mortality of children, however, is between the age of six and ten. Only a small percentage of these poor creatures live to take part in the game of life; while many succumb to ill-treatment and the most horrible skin eruptions. Thus we have a good explanation of the frightful rapidity with which the Ainu race is fast disappearing. Naturally, those few who survive grow strong and healthy; but their great fondness for alcoholic drinks, which they can now so easily procure from the Japanese, destroys even them.

One is generally struck in Ainuland by the number of old men and children, and by the almost entire lack of young fellows between the age of fifteen and thirty. This is due

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

mainly to the great increase of mortality in children during the last two generations. The sadness which seems to oppress the Ainu, and which we see depicted on the face of each individual, is nothing but the outcome of this degeneration of the race. As a race the Ainu will soon be extinct. I dare say that in fifty years from now—probably not so long—not one of the hairy savages, who were once the masters of Sakhalin, Yezo, the Kuriles, Kamschatka, and the whole of the southern Japanese Empire, will be left. Not one of these strange people—soft, good, and gentle, but savage, brave, and disreputable—will live to see their country civilised; and in the life which they have led of filth and vice they will die in front of that greater scourge, civilisation, leaving behind no traces of themselves, of their past, of their history, nor of their present—nothing but a faint recollection, a tradition, that in Yezo and the Kuriles died the last remains of those curious people, the Hairy Ainu.

[P. 298 is blank]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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INTRODUCTION

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

621 The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A [594] group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the [162] number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, 361 and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

621 A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically 423 autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was [184] expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

226 Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most im- 796 portant was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The 621 elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the [774] coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

224 Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to 825 ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best 796 known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

648 It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu 175 were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[613] [1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa* [622] *uko kor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim [114] to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

NOTES

I

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(1) Population of The Ainu†

Date of Census			Number of Ainu Houses	Ainu Population	Average Inhabitants per House
1804	Hokkaido	East Ainu†† Territory	2927	12753	4.36
		West Ainu Territory	?	8944	
		Total		21697	
		Saghalin	?	2100	
1822	Hokkaido	East Ainu Territory	2624	12028	4.58
		West Ainu Territory	2125	9121	4.29
		Total	4749	21149	
		Saghalin	357	2571	7.20
1854	Hokkaido	East Ainu Territory	2280	10883	4.77
		West Ainu Territory	1127	5253	4.66
		Total	3407	16136	
		Saghalin	373	2669	7.16
1873	Hokkaido	Ishikari†††	140	576	
		Shiribeshi	255	1005	
		Woshima	65	259	
		Ifuri	863	3537	
		Hitaka	989	5048	
		Tokapchi	275	1449	
		Kusuri	349	1576	
		Nemoro	120	480	
		Kitami	333	1393	
		Teshio	117	507	
		Total	3506	15830	4.52
		Chishima (Kurile Islands)	93	442	4.75

† Source: census data given in Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 7, pp. 144-145 and p. 148.

†† For details on East and West Ainu Territories see Note 6.

††† Names of administrative divisions of Hokkaido established by law enacted in 1869.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Sources of foregoing figures, with notes (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 7, pp. 144-145; p. 149).

1804: based on 'Ezo Zakki' (Miscellanies on the Ainu). Under East Territory an addition was made of a certain number of houses with a population of 526 at six 'Basho' on the Kurile Isls. Surveys of West Territory and Saghalin are extremely inaccurate; figures for areas north of Rumoi seems to be mostly conjectural and below the actual numbers.

1822: based and emended on 'Ezo Kokō-hyō' (A Table of Ainu House Distribution), 'Ezo Zakki' and other books. No information is avilable for Matsumae clan territory. Incomplete figures for Shikotan Isls. in East Territory (houses, unknown; population, 92) and Kamikawa in West Territory (houses, unknown; population, 92) and Kamikawa in West Territory (houses, 75; population 527), have been omitted.

1854: based and emended on 'Ezo Kokō-hyō', 'Ezo Zakki' and other books. Additions were made into East Territory of 96 houses with a population of 377 at six places on the Kurile Isls.

1873: based on 'Kaitaku-shi Jigyō-hōkoku' (the Business Reports of the Commissioner of Colonization).

2) Monthly mean temperatures (C.) for 1921-1950 in different areas in Hokkaido (Tokyo Temmon-dai, 1954, Sect. Meteol., p. 8).

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Annual Mean
Hakodate	−3.4	−2.8	0.4	6.1	10.6	14.7	19.7	22.4	18.0	11.9	5.5	−0.7	8.5
Urakawa	−3.5	−3.2	−0.4	4.3	8.6	12.6	17.5	20.3	17.1	11.7	5.5	−0.8	7.5
Asahikawa	−9.4	−8.4	−3.6	4.0	10.7	16.0	20.9	21.2	15.5	8.6	1.4	−5.0	5.7
Obihiro	−9.8	−8.9	−3.2	4.3	10.0	14.0	18.8	19.7	15.6	9.0	2.1	−5.4	5.5
Kushiro	−7.1	−6.7	−2.5	2.8	6.8	10.7	15.4	18.2	15.2	9.7	3.5	−3.3	5.2
Suttu	−3.5	−2.8	0.5	5.5	10.1	14.2	19.1	21.2	17.9	12.1	5.3	−9.3	7.6
Sapporo	−6.6	−5.1	−1.4	5.3	10.7	15.3	20.1	21.7	18.4	10.2	3.6	−3.0	7.4
Uhoro	−5.7	−5.4	−1.8	4.3	9.3	14.0	18.8	20.7	16.5	10.6	3.8	−2.4	6.9
Wakkanai	−5.8	−5.8	−1.7	3.7	8.3	12.4	17.0	20.4	16.5	10.5	3.1	−3.3	6.3
Abashiri	−6.8	−7.3	−3.2	3.3	8.3	12.5	17.5	19.5	15.9	10.1	3.2	−3.3	5.2
Nemuro	−5.0	−5.7	−2.4	2.6	6.5	9.9	14.7	16.1	15.6	10.9	4.9	−1.4	5.5

3) So far as the crown forests in Hokkaido are concerned which occupy a large part of the island; there usually occur at the foot of the mountains latifoliate forests; halfway up the mountains, mixed forests of latifoliate and coniferous trees, at a higher altitude coniferous forests and at an altitude of about 1000 metres above sea-level such flora as the creeping-pine (MIURA, 1933, p. 282). On Mt. Taisetsu, the highest mountain in Hokkaido, and other high mountains in the central highland, the upper boundary of the growth of

G 101 /16 cont./

It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly Gi A 101 separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and Orok, there is repeated, and in part to an even greater degree, what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On A G 101 the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern ●162 361 103 boundary. For example, it was said, as the Gilyak in Arkai told me, that of the villages south of Duĭ, Adngi was still purely Gilyak, Kthĕus contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chogranj again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was A G 103 361 inhabited half by Gilyak and half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/

4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too, met the first Ainu in Kthĕus, which, moreover, at that time consisted of only two miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chogranj an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 65, 66). Again, however, I cannot agree with the version of the names for the above-mentioned places, "Ktausi," "Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's map.

A G [114]

place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with G 361 the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is, "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for

A G [113]

1. Rudanofskij, too (Vostochnoe Pomor'e /Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first Gilyak village as one approaches from the

Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Ainu AB6

F.J. 175 648 469 221 A 175 162 464 648

/75 cont./ During the summer, however, an Ainu population larger than almost anywhere else on Sakhalin was concentrated around Endungomo for the Japanese fishing. Rudanofskij estimated the crowd that welcomed him upon his arrival at 300 persons in itself, but, according to the Ainu themselves, their number was said to amount to about 700 there (2). Just as Endungomo lived on

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2. The above information was taken from Rudanofskij's handwritten travel journal, which he kindly let me use. I do not know whether it has been published in full anywhere.

fishing, Ssiranussi lived primarily on trade. These settlements, in contrast to Kussun-kotan, where several Japanese officers were also permanently stationed, bore a different character -- that of purely fishing and trading centers. These latter interests were so essential to the Japanese on Sakhalin that their greatest fear at the time of the founding of the Murawjof Station was that the Russians might alienate the Ainu from them and through that destroy their fishing and trade there. Therefore, when this station was abandoned in May, 1854, at the outbreak of the Crimean War, the Japanese hastened to extend and to strengthen their settlements on Sakhalin as much as possible in the meantime, so that in case of the eventual return of the Russians they would have effective possession of the entire Ainu territory on the island. The most fantastic rumors concerning this Japanese expansion quickly spread, not only among the Ainu, but also among their northern neighbors, the Gilyak. When, in the winter of 1854/55, I was at the Nikolayev Station preparing for my first trip to Sakhalin, the Liman Gilyak brought me the /76/ strangest accounts concerning this: besides the true information that the Japanese were appearing in greater numbers on Sakhalin that year and had not left even for the winter, they also told me that already that summer by means of emissaries who had gone to Cape Lasaref /Lazarev/ and Tschomi, they had spied on the activities of the Russians in the

F.J. 648 636 175

SS 162 G [131] [162] /317 cont./ Next come the Olcha, who, however, occupy only a small territory in the Amur region. The Goldi, certainly more numerous in their totality, are dispersed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely represented everywhere, most sparsely between the mouths of the Ussuri and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River, between the mouth of the Sungari and the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only temporarily visited by nomadic hunting peoples, except for the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Daur, and, immediately above the Bureja Mountains, by sedentary Birar.

SS 162 132 G A 131 162 132 In general the population situation on Sakhalin is different from that on the mainland. Here the southern part, occupied by Ainu, seems to have a greater population than the northern, Gilyak part of the island. To be sure, the southern part, washed on both sides by the branches of a warm current, is climatically much more favorable than the northern part, which, especially on its east coast toward the Sea of Okhotsk, has an extremely harsh, almost polar climate, but here again the reason for this phenomenon may lie in historical and political circumstances rather than in physical conditions. Warred upon and subjugated by the Japanese in the southern part of their area centuries ago, and constantly oppressed and afflicted since then, the Ainu moved northward more and more and found a homeland on Sakhalin, where up to a few decades ago they led a free and independent life, unmolested by their enemies (1). It is not surprising, then,

1. See above, pp. 148 ff., 256 ff.

SS 162 G 131 161 648 167 that in the course of time their number there increased considerably. In the northern, Gilyak part of Sakhalin, on the other hand, a decrease in the population has taken place. I believe that I have shown on linguistic grounds that a part of the Sakhalin Gilyak left the island, perhaps as a result of the pressure from the Ainu, and moved to the mainland, to the lower Amur and the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (2). A more numerous Gilyak

000 2. See p. 214 above /untranslated/.